



Komsomol Giving 'Guard of Honour' to their Great Departed Leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh on 24th April.

#### CALL OF 24TH APRIL

## Rally Round SUCI And Uphold The Banner of Revolution

At the cross-roads where the country is today, you have but two choices: Either submit to the bourgeois design of perpetuating its class rule, or foil it with your own instrument of struggle. Either watch passively the fascist danger rear its head, or step forward to fight the menace through united struggle. Either let yourselves be victim of treachery and deception of the pseudo-lefts, or know and rally round the genuine revolutionary party to unleash struggle against the main enemy. Either languish under capitalist exploitation and oppression, or rise in determination to build the democratic mass movement conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution. Which road will you take?

In thunderous voice of lakhs of people came the answer that day, 24TH APRIL. They were workers, peasants, students, youths, intellectuals—men and women, children and the old, people from all walks of life, from all directions. In streams they flowed, wave after wave, to that city of revolutionary

heritage, Calcutta, on 24th April last. It was the SUCI DAY. These people had come to reaffirm their pledge on this day, all in a voice, that they would fight, they would take to the road of movement with the goal of winning emancipation from capitalist exploitation and oppression. They would die (Contd. to page 6)

# Proletarian Era

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## MAY DAY

May 1, is the Day of International Solidarity of the revolutionary proletariat. The day carries the revolutionary message of historic significance. A new chapter in the history of the march of humanity was opened when on this day the workers demanded an end of savage exploitation of capital by reduction in working hours and dye in their blood unfurled the flag of the exploited, the insulted and humiliated. Every movement has

its beginning and so it was. From a democratic demand for change in the working condition, it transformed itself, in the course of history, into the revolutionary movement for emancipation from wage slavery and establishment in its place, a society free from all sorts of exploitation of man by man. The banner thence betokened the revolution, it symbolised the emancipation of the whole society from the grip and tentacles of capitalist ex-

ploitation; it was no longer confined to the reformist demand of making the capitalist class exploitation more tolerable. The dividing line between revisionism-reformism and the revolutionary goal and object of the proletariat was therefore drawn in the very transformation of the world proletarian movement that this historic May Day carries as its message.

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## COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE'S Letter to Chief Election Commissioner

In a letter and telegram to the Election Commissioner on the 27th April last, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of our Party, has drawn attention to some important issues of the coming assembly elections in nine states.

In the letter it has been pointed out that the electoral rolls have not been available yet, even after the last date of submission of nomination papers, although these official notification stipulated that the voter's lists would be published by the 15th April. Comrade Prithvi Chanda, member of the Central Committee, had called on the Commission on the 21st April lodging a complaint but no action has been taken. Consequently, scrutiny of voters

cannot be undertaken and there is no guarantee that the elections will not be rigged by large scale manipulation of the electoral rolls.

Further, large area in Bihar, UP, Rajasthan etc. have been hit by a severe drought forcing many poor people to leave their villages in search of jobs. As a result, numerous genuine voters will not be able to cast their vote. Such a condition cannot ensure a proper atmosphere for free and fair election. Moreover, the drought affected people must be given relief first. Under the circumstances, the Central Committee demands deferment of the election dates till the voters' lists are thoroughly revised, corrected and made avail-

able in time to the candidates and the political parties, and the drought situation is effectively met by rendering adequate relief to the people.

The Central Committee has lodged a strong protest against the irregular, arbitrary and discriminatory allotment of the 'cycle' symbol to the newly formed party of defectors led by Rajnarayan. It has been pointed out that ever since 1969 the SUCI has been contesting with this symbol and 4 party candidates in West Bengal and 2 in Assam have won on this symbol to the state assemblies.

The Central Committee has directed the State Committees to mobilize public opinion on these issues.

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The Great Teacher of world proletarian movement, Karl Marx taught the working class that in order to change the world, the workers will have to change themselves first.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh further elaborating and concretising this revolutionary thought has taught us that "without morality there can be no revolution." This morality is new morality based on higher standard of proletarian ethics and sense of values transcending far above bourgeois humanistic moral values and ethics which along with the class that generated those are rotting at this stage of third intense crisis of moribund capitalism. That is why, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out that: "Only those proletariat can change the world who have been able to develop the quality of revolutionary leadership not in political battle alone nor in slogans only but in behaviour and life style in ethical-moral standard, cultural tone and taste...freeing themselves from the impact and influence of bourgeois individualism, bourgeois ideology and its decadent culture acquired from bourgeois society".

This cultural revolution to equip the proletariat with new sense of moral values, and ethics free from private property mental complex of bourgeois individualism is a continuing process. It precedes the technical revolution as also continues at successive stages even after the revolution covering the entire historic period between capitalism and classless society, communism in order to wipe out the last vestiges of bourgeois sense of values from the society.

The revisionists the world over not only undermine its great revolutionary significance but themselves being the victims of bourgeois ideology, actually spread moral depravity, unethical conducts, bourgeois sense of rights, bourgeois individualism so on and so

forth to keep the proletariat and oppressed people slave to bourgeois productive system and to its decadent culture. So long they can do it, they give a longer lease of life to moribund capitalism and its putrid culture. For, as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us, neither the lumpens nor beggars can be the forces of revolution nor can the bourgeois individualists be the creators of a new civilisation.

So, the real yardstick by which the people can judge whether a party is really revolutionary or not is whether that party has seriously engaged itself in organising a cultural movement to educate the masses with proletarian ethics and morals, and whether the leaders and cadres of that party do really reflect a higher ethical moral standard or behave just like those of a bourgeois party and sometimes even worse than that.

In this task of identifying the real revolutionary party, the exploited people will have to grasp the essential point in politics. In politics, as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has shown, the ruling bourgeoisie, in order to confuse the masses, uses its money bags, press publicity, rigging machinery in election etc. to prop up so many parties who contend among themselves for powers and privileges but in reality stand by the same bourgeois class interest. So, judged from class angularity there can be only two sides, two forces—the force of revolution striving for end of capitalist exploitation and the forces of reaction standing in defence of crisis-ridden moribund capitalism.

It is the correct revolutionary ideology covering all aspects of life and the correct base political line determined on the correct examination of character of the state, and concrete socio-political problems that distinguish the real

revolutionary party from all other parties.

The party that strives to unite all sections of the oppressed people irrespective of their caste, communities, religious faiths etc. in organised waves of democratic mass movements not only to fight resolutely every class offensive but with the ultimate object of developing parallel political power of the oppressed masses through concrete instruments of struggle in the shape of people's committees down to the village level, is the party the bourgeoisie and the parties on its service dread most. It has always been the endeavours of the bourgeois and social democratic parties to use people's grievances and resentments in agitational form of movements just to utilise them for gains in parliamentary politics. It is for pelf and privileges of the bourgeois parliamentary system for the leaders of these parties but never to win emancipation of the people. And when the bourgeoisie is at its weakest moment, when it is enmeshed in insoluble problems when as desperate bids, it is planning to resort to autocracy, constitutional dictatorship, all-out fascism, when situation ripens for uniting broad sections of the oppressed people into mighty waves of democratic struggles, it is the social-democratic parties who are called upon and relied more by the harassed bourgeois class to keep the people away from the path of movement and to confine them, instead in petty reforms and legalism.

The social democratic parties entrusted with the job of defending moribund capitalism at its dire distress invent subterfuges and pleas to avoid united mass movements of the people which alone can provide genuine guarantee of resistance against fascism. And so behind the pep talks about fighting authoritarianism they seek to make peace with authoritarianism, extend their

hands of co-operation, maintain dialogue and good relations. They are therefore actually keeping the working people ideologically politically as also organisationally unprepared against the probable attacks of the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie and its political arm, the ruling party at the Centre. This is the political scene today, in our country. We must therefore recall on this day the important lesson of the revolutionary working class movement that social democratism, is the last prop of moribund capitalism, fascism without bringing an end of which it is impossible to win the emancipation of the people from capitalist bondage.

Today, in our country, the branded bourgeois parties who have so long been relied upon to defend the bourgeois class interest but are now showing the distinct signs of disintegration consequent upon the deeper instability in the very bourgeois system are now yielding their place to neo-social democratic parties like CPI(M), CPI and others who waving the red banner and chanting vague slogans of Marxism are in reality defending moribund capitalism at this stage of its worst crisis. These parties are propagating all sorts of reformist illusions amongst the exploited masses which is objectively helping to hold them as slaves to capitalist exploitation. They are mounting two-pronged attacks against the revolutionary cause. From within, they are trying to kill the very struggling spirit of the oppressed. From the governments they run, they are bringing down police brutalities on legitimate democratic movements. Indeed their role aptly suits the characterisation, Lenin made about the enemies of Marxism, Lenin said: "...the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists. Liberalism rotten within,

tried to revive itself in the form of socialist opportunism. They interpreted the period of preparing the forces for great battles as renunciation of these battles. Improvement of the conditions of the slave to fight against wage slavery they took to mean the sale by the slaves of their right to liberty for a few pence. They cravenly preached 'social peace' (i.e. peace with the slave owners), renunciation of class struggle etc."

The revolutionary significance of the day is therefore to identify and strengthen the real revolutionary party of the soil, for without doing that the oppressed people cannot hope to win their emancipation and all their struggles and sacrifices are sure to end in fiasco due to the treacherous role of the parties serving the bourgeois interest.

SUCI is that revolutionary party of the proletariat founded and reared by the great teacher of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. It alone is carrying the flag of struggle and emancipation. It is the party that alone can prepare the working people for the incoming great battle against the bourgeoisie. It is the party that has the revolutionary audacity and capability to weld the masses of the toiling people into an advanced, class-conscious, culturally equipped disciplined army, as the invincible force to win the emancipation of the society. For, this is the party endowed with the rich treasury of the revolutionary thoughts and wisdom of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh which is more powerful than lies, frauds, sinister designs or lethal weapons that are in the armoury of the bourgeoisie and the parties on its service.

Let the oppressed people of our country inscribe on this day in their banner "down with social democratic treachery—on to united struggle of the toiling people to foil bourgeois conspiracies" and renew their pledge to take bold strides towards their emancipation from capitalist bondage.

# MAY DAY



# Defeat the conspiracy of crisis-ridden capitalism—Build up invincible democratic mass movement

## —Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Call on 24th April

At the very outset, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee paid revolutionary tribute to the memory of Martyr Comrade Sujauddin Akhand, a member of the South 24 Parganas District Committee (West Bengal) of our Party, who just a month back on 24th March, was brutally murdered by the jotedar clique in direct collusion with the Congress (I) and CPI(M).

Comrade Mukherjee also paid tribute to the memory of those martyrs who sacrificed their lives for organising the struggles of different sections of the toiling people against the onslaughts of the capitalist class and vested interest.

In his speech Comrade Mukherjee analysed the various aspects of the present national political scene.

While reflecting on the various problems confronting the lives of our people he referred to the great teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our leader and teacher, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the era that problems would always be there confronting the lives of the people, so long capitalism, the capitalist exploitative system would remain. All those problems could not be resolved within the existing capitalist structure simply by change of government. Whereas, Comrade Mukherjee pointed out that it was not only the branded bourgeois parties, the parties of the capitalist class, but even the parties claiming to be Marxist-Leninist, that were engaged in this game of change of governments.

To fulfil their petty parliamentary interests, they too were trying to distract the attention of the people to this nasty political game by raising various reformist slogans and speaking of various palliatives thereby confining the oppressed people to capitalist bondage. As an outcome of such a nasty political game, that was going on in the country, Sm. Indira Gandhi who was thrown out from power by an ignomini-

ous defeat at the poll, three years back, could stage a come back with two third majority in the parliament in the last Lok Shaba poll.

One should calmly ponder, Comrade Mukherjee observed, how Sm. Gandhi who during her ten years' misrule and more particularly after the imposition of emergency let loose naked fascistic onslaughts on the people could stage a comeback to power with such a huge majority.

To whatever extent her personal ambition and greed for power might have worked as an added factor but it was essentially to serve the crisis-ridden capitalist system, particularly in the context of third phase of world wide general crisis of capitalism, that she after imposing emergency rule curbed democratic and political rights of the people, gagged all opposition, curbed the freedom of press, silenced any voice of dissent even within her own party, by taking recourse to autocratic measures.

It was to stave off the crisis of the capitalist system by passing the burden on to the shoulders of the workers, peasants and toiling millions that she imposed emergency. The emergency rule by bringing about negation of democratic and political rights of the people gave unfettered licence of exploitation to the businessmen, the monopolists, capitalists etc. to maximise their profits as also to let loose a most oppressive and exploitative rule on the people. Apprehending that she might be charged with the most heinous crimes that she committed against the people, she by amending the constitution placed the

office of the President and Prime Minister above the jurisdiction of the court of law. The Janata Party that was placed to power by the bourgeoisie, in its short spell of rule also took recourse to undemocratic steps and measures to defend the capitalist class interests.

To protect the crisis-ridden capitalist exploitative system, they too took recourse to mounting repression on the workers and peasants movement that resulted into a series of mass killings of the toiling people.

The incidents of Kanpur, Bailadilla and Panthnagar where brutal police onslaught was let loose on the fighting workers and toiling people would bear testimony to this fact.

The severe crisis of the capitalist economy of the country, Comrade Mukherjee continued, was reflected in the deep political crisis set in within the different branded bourgeois and other petty bourgeois parties. Rivalries between the different monopoly houses, the contradiction with the small and regional capitalists etc. all were finding expression within these parties. These, combined with personal ambition, greed and lust for power of the leaders, who were devoid of even the bourgeois norms, ethics and moral values, intensified the squabbles, infighting and dissension within these parties, ultimately resulting in their disintegration. In such a situation the ruling capitalist class considered Sm. Gandhi and her party as the best available alternative to provide a 'stable Centre' so as to give a semblance of stabilisation of their class rule of exploitation. She was therefore put back to governmental power with two-thirds majority, so that, to protect the crisis-ridden capitalist system if necessary, she

might amend the constitution to establish constitutional dictatorship in the country as also to rule the country for sometime even if defections from the party took place as happened with the Janata.

While analysing the roots of the evils of casteism, communalism, parochialism, provincialism etc. that were still pervading the life of the society and that were being utilised by the ruling class, and the fissiparous forces to divide the people and disrupt their united movement against capitalist exploitative system, Comrade Mukherjee recalled the great teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Comrade Ghosh has shown that once when the bourgeoisie was internationally a socially progressive force, they fought an uncompromising struggle against religious prejudices, all sorts of irrational notion, blind faith and absolutism and gave birth to secular, humanist, democratic norms and values in the society.

Comrade Ghosh further pointed out that in our country the freedom movement developed under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie at a time when the bourgeoisie as a class became out and out reactionary, compromising and reformist in character and the bourgeois values too lost their progressive revolutionary character and instead manifested decadence. As a result through our national movement the social cultural revolution in the country finished half-baked and truncated. The reformist-oppositional role of the bourgeoisie failed to fulfil the task of national integration. That is why politically though a nation, the Indian people remained culturally disunited over the questions of religion, caste, creed, community, nationality, language etc. etc.

The ruling class, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee pointed out, was taking advantage of such a situation to protect their class

interest by this division among the people. They conspired to weaken and divide the class struggle of the downtrodden people against them by giving it a caste colouring. Most often, they incited one community or the people of one state against the other, so as to divide their united movement against capitalist oppression and exploitation.

In this connection, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee drew the attention of the people to the incidents of Assam where a large section of the people of the state were victims of misguided mass upsurge and the situation deteriorated to such a state that a question was being posed if the Indian people would any more be able to exercise the constitutionally guaranteed right of the Indian citizen to live in any part of the country.

At the very outset of his discussion on Assam question, Comrade Mukherjee observed that one must analyse the problem of Assam with a dispassionate and objective outlook, free from emotion and preconception.

Like other north eastern states of the country, Assam was also very much neglected by the Central Government since independence. Even the development work that was possible in other states within the capitalist structure was hardly undertaken in Assam.

There was a large influx of population from other parts of the country and also from East Pakistan due to the curse of unjust vivisection of the country but as there was hardly any appreciable economic growth or industrialisation, the problems confronting the life of the people became more acute.

In such a situation, Comrade Mukherjee pointed out that failure of the left and democratic movement in the state to channelise the grievances of the people to right direction, the bourgeois parties, the parochial and

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# Mighty wave of mass movement based on Proletarian

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fissiparous forces quite in conformity with their class character and object to fish in troubled water. Instead of pointing out the real cause of unemployment, destitution and miseries of the people as being the inevitable outcome of capitalist exploitation and more particularly the incompetence and failures of successive governments, they diverted the anger of the Assamese speaking populace against other communities in Assam. The parochial forces directly aided by the administration conducted such a widespread mischievous propaganda that the Assamese speaking people became apprehensive of being swamped in their own land by the Bengali speaking people and that they might lose their language, culture, and distinct identity. Such an evil campaign got a fertile ground by rousing the parochial feelings of the masses in absence of leftist initiative to counteract it. The problem was therefore such deep-rooted and not simply a law and order question, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee cautioned.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee further observed that it was our party alone which time and again approached the other left parties of the state to develop united left and democratic movement of the people on some common burning issues which could have brought about some relief to all sections of the people and built up goodwill, amity, fraternity and unity among them. But not only they failed to live up to the need of the moment but like bourgeois parties, they too at times by spinning some fanciful theories, lent in reality support to rabid provincial and parochial feelings, sentiments and trend of thinking.

One must note, therefore, that the problem would not be resolved militarily, or by taking recourse to repressive

measures. The cut off year question was no doubt important. But that was not all to bring about a real solution.

While reflecting on the immediate tasks before the left and democratic forces to resolve the problem of Assam, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee referred to the stand of our party that in order to maintain and safeguard the cultural integrity of the Assamese speaking people constitutional recognition must be given to Assamese as the state language. Proper safety and security must have to be ensured side by side for all religious and linguistic minorities so that the mischievous attempts of the reactionary and parochial forces to wreck the solidarity and unity of the people might be frustrated.

Mighty united movement will have to be built up for the industrialisation and speedy economic development of the state. The people of Assam should note, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee pointed out, that the fundamental problems of their life could not be solved within the existing capitalist structure. In order to achieve the legitimate demands of all sections of the people, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee added, they must build up a mighty mass movement uniting all sections of the toiling people, irrespective of their language, religion, caste and creed, which would one day lead to anti-capitalist revolution providing permanent solutions to all the problems of their lives.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee emphatically observed that the contradictions among the people were non-antagonistic in nature. So any conflict between them must have to be resolved through mutual exchange of their respective views and opinions.

The different linguistic communities must note that any advancement of their respective language and culture was not anta-

gonistic to one another, rather was non-antagonistic and mutually conducive to their developments and contributes to the process of integration of the different sections of the working people. Congenial atmosphere must have to be created for free exchange of views and opinions between people of various communities. Only left and democratic movement could create such an atmosphere.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee therefore called upon the left and democratic parties and the people of Assam to move towards that end.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee thereafter drew the attention of the people to recent steps and measures of Smt. Gandhi that were aimed at concentrating absolute power in her hand with the ulterior motive of leading the country towards all out fascism. Just after coming to power, Smt. Gandhi expressed her desire to reintroduce her ill-famed 20 point programme, which she first adopted during her emergency rule. In fact this social democratic programme was nothing but palliatives which the fascist rulers too adopt to confuse the people. This might remind one of a similar 25 point programme that was adopted by Hitler in fascist Germany. And behind the smokescreen of talks of welfare Smt. Gandhi reintroduced the PD Act as a powerful weapon to contain legitimate democratic movement. The people must not fail to take note of these developments, Comrade Mukherjee cautioned.

After coming to power, her party engineered massive defection of MLA's in three states to install its own government there in place of the existing non-congress(I) ministries. There after on the plea of popular verdicts she dismissed non-congress (I) ministries in nine states, dissolved their legislatures, and brought them under President's rule.

While referring to the

stand of our Central Committee about these moves, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee observed that Smt. Gandhi's government dismissed the non-congress (I) ministries in nine states and dissolved their assemblies and also the way the government had been grabbed in three states by the Congress (I) by causing large scale defections and pressurising the MLA's had struck at the very root of democratic norms, practice and the right of the people.

The CPI(M) also condemned this undemocratic act of toppling and dismissal of government. But was it not a fact, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee asked, that the CPI(M) welcomed such a measure undertaken by the Janata Party in 1977, on an identical plea of 'popular verdict'? In fact, it was only our party, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee added, which then protested against this undemocratic measure, warning that it would create dangerous precedent which could be used by others in future. Smt. Gandhi then protested against that move, but now in defence of her move she referred to the verdict of the Supreme Court which then went in favour of this undemocratic measure of the Janata Government. The CPI(M), Comrade Nihar Mukherjee further added, though criticised the move of Smt. Gandhi, but despite our repeated appeal did not respond to come forward to build up a broad-based movement against this unprincipled and undemocratic move.

While analysing the role of the CPI(M) in connection with these undemocratic steps and moves of Smt. Gandhi Comrade Nihar Mukherjee highlighted an important point before the meeting.

One expected that the left and democratic forces which always stood against any undemocratic and unprincipled steps and action must themselves show respect to democratic norms and ethics. But the CPI(M), Comrade Nihar

Mukherjee observed, which was often found to wax eloquent on democracy did not show even least respect for it and took recourse to the same undemocratic actions of superseding the elective University bodies, the councils, boards and the bodies of other academic institutions. This scant regard for the democratic norms and values, particularly when it was the duty of the left to uphold those norms, ethics and values, was to a great extent responsible for erosion of values in all aspects of social life and creation of apathy among the people towards democratic movement.

One must note, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee observed, that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers, time and again cautioned that the spread of perverse morality, erosion of moral values and ethics, the prevalence of apathy towards social life and movement—all these worked as the fertile ground for the ruling capitalist class to bring fascism in the country. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee further added that time and again our party appealed to the other left and democratic forces to build up a mighty joint movement on the basis of democratic norms and code of conduct, against the common enemy—capitalist exploitation, for resolving the problems confronting their lives. Such a movement, if it could be developed on the edifice of higher proletarian ethics and culture, would have created a new wave of hope and enthusiasm among the people and help to upgrade the standard of moral and ethics of our people. But since in spite of our repeated appeals others did not respond, the task of developing such a movement was entrusted to us and the Central Committee of our party took up a programme of movement that was conducted in different states

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# ethics is the bullwark against fascism

under the leadership of the respective state committees of our party. In all the states, these movements generated good response and enthusiasm among the people who participated in thousands to make these programme successful. When the mid-term poll was imposed upon us, as was expected of a revolutionary party, our party fought the election battle as a part of this movement. In the coming elections to nine assemblies, we would take part in election in most of those states. But we would fight the election as part of our programme of movement. The social democratic parties have let down the cause of the people and thereby abdicated their solemn responsibility at this hour of grave crisis in the life of the people. But the Party of the revolutionary working class, the party formed by the great teacher of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh cannot sit idle, however stupendous may be the task of taking single handed initiative in organising the people against the mounting onslaughts of capitalist class.

While highlighting the necessity of developing movement in the country, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee drew the attention of the meeting to another important aspect. He observed, that the real test of class character or class angularity of a party lay in its attitude towards mass movement.

The manner in which the CPI(M) led government of West Bengal time and again took recourse to naked suppressive measures, to nip in the bud the legitimate democratic movement of the people and more so the heinous police onslaught that it let loose on the struggling people in Calcutta on the last 15th June would amply testify to the social democratic character of this party. Like the branded bourgeois parties they too are becoming more and more dependent on police and administration and concentrating more power in the hands of these coercive instruments of the capitalist state.

Recently Mr. Jyoti Basu observed that they had given status to the police which was a coercive tool in the hand of the ruling capitalist state. The manner in which the West Bengal government moved centring Islampur incident where police behaved like organised dacoits had made it clear that Mr. Basu had kept his word, Comrade Mukherjee remarked.

All these would amply testify, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee pointed out, that from the point of basic class position one would fail to differentiate them from the branded bourgeois parties. In fact they too were destined to serve and give lease of life to the exploitative capitalist system. They had already earned the confidence of the ruling class which supported them to

power in three states. The new aspiration of the CPI(M) was to emerge as the national alternative, so as to help the bourgeoisie to consolidate its class rule behind the facade of two party parliamentary system. The bourgeoisie too in our time would lend all out support to them to fulfil their ambition, because history had time and again proved that at the moment of crisis, the social democratic forces waving the red banner acted as their more dependable ally than even the branded bourgeois parties

In conclusion, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee reiterated the historic observation of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that though there were many parties and forces with various labels in the political arena yet on critical examination and judged from class angularity one would find that in reality there were only two sides or forces. One was the force of revolution, and the other the force of counter-revolution which served the bourgeoisie under various names, shades and colour. History, is unfolding in this country with the time tested lesson that when the bourgeoisie wins to their side the social democratic forces who have thrown the flag of struggle, it is the revolutionary party of the proletariat that becomes the only rallying force of the oppressed masses. For, it is the only party that the bourgeoisie cannot pervert with moneybags and the lure

of parliamentary powers and privileges. On no account the revolutionary party compromises the revolutionary goal and object. Today, SUCI, founded thirty two years ago by the great teacher of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, is marching ahead against mountain-high obstacles with revolutionary steadfastness. It alone is on the side of the toiling people. It alone is the ray of their hope. It alone carries the flag of struggle and emancipation from capitalist yoke. 24th April, every year, comes not merely to remind that yet there are many many miles that we are to go to achieve our revolutionary object but it also records the progress that the party achieves through painstaking struggles armed with the great revolutionary thoughts and teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. With renewed vigour and revolutionary determination, we take the pledge anew on this day that we will surely bring to reality the revolutionary dream and expectation of our great teacher and guide. So, comrades, on to struggle, on to breaking fresh grounds, on to victories.

**Long Live Revolution !**

**Long Live S U C I !**

**Red Salute**

**Comrade  
Shibdas Ghosh !**

## Com. Shankar Singh

In his presidential address, Comrade Shankar Singh, member of the Central Committee, said at the outset: 24th April comes every year as a reminder of the revolutionary task of emancipating the oppressed people and society from the yoke of capitalist bondage. It also brings to us the varied experiences of our revolutionary struggles as also the achievements that this revolutionary party of the Indian proletariat has made in this direction.

Paying glowing tribute to the revolutionary genius of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder, teacher and guide of our party, Comrade Shankar Singh said: Thirty two years ago, this party was founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh with a handful of comrades in this state of West Bengal. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught us then that nothing could stand in the way of the revolutionary party of the proletariat; it would triumph ultimately. Today, this party carrying the message of anti-capitalist socialist revolution is reaching the distant corners of this vast country. In most of the states the oppressed people's yearning for change in their social condition are finding in the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh the unfailing guide to their revolutionary preparations. While founding this party, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, fulfilled a task of great

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-A portion of the gathering at Saheed Minar Maidan. Addressing the gathering (Above) Comrade Nihar Mukherjee (Below) Comrade Shankar Singh.

## While Parties Serving Moribund Capitalism are disintegrating SUCI is marching ahead

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historic importance and was also confident of its success. He taught us that the deep instability of the crisis-ridden bourgeois system was sure to grow from bad to worse, shaking the system's very foundation and, with the mounting crisis of the system, not only the branded bourgeois parties but even the social-democratic reformist parties hanging the sign-board of 'Marxism' would also fall into crisis of their own—as they are all defenders of this moribund capitalist system.

Today, the growing disintegration of the branded bourgeois parties and even of the parties calling themselves left or Marxist, like CPI, CPI(M), etc. all testify to the correctness of laws of class struggle in the society that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out long ago. Today, the reformist-revisionist parties like CPI(M), CPI and others show no difference with the branded bourgeois parties in their eagerness to defend the bourgeois 'law and order' from their governmental positions. This means, in effect, curbing the legitimate democratic movement. The Chief Minister of West Bengal, CPI(M) leader Mr. Jyoti Basu, was advising the workers in Bihar the other day, to be "good citizens" by increasing production and serving the country. What difference makes this utterance from that of a bourgeois politician? An elementary knowledge of Marxism is enough for anyone to understand that it is not the workers who determine production but it is the law of maximum profit and crisis of market created by the same law of bourgeois economy that in ultimate analysis is the root cause of crisis in production and economy of the country. To hide this social reality is to cheat the workers and the people and thereby to serve the bourgeois interest.

Giving a penetrating analysis of the class design and the nasty means of rigging the poll results revealed in the polls to parliament and assemblies, Comrade Shankar Singh showed that the bourgeoisie in its desperate bid to stabilise the bourgeois parliamentary system by 'two-party' formula was backing those parties who were eager to defend crisis-ridden moribund capitalism. For this the social democratic reformist parties like CPI(M), CPI and others are getting the bourgeois class backing in every way.

Pointing to the grave danger of all out fascism in the country, particularly after the reappearance of Indira Gandhi and her party at the Centre, Comrade Shankar Singh traced the history of bunglings and treacheries of the social democratic parties, who in the name of fighting authoritarianism and defending democracy, were in fact coming to terms with the same very bourgeois parties who threaten democratic norms and are calling those parties 'friendly' or are extending hand of co-operation to them. In fact, in their bid to float in bourgeois parliamentary politics as also to appear as an alternative of the bourgeoisie, CPI(M), more particularly, is competing with other bourgeois parties in taking anti-people policies, obstructing mass movements and resorting to gross undemocratic measures as would be evident from their records in three year rule in West Bengal and Tripura. In short, CPI(M), CPI and others are not only obstructing mass movements of the oppressed people but are also taking every care that the people do not get their real democratic alternative in the form of a united left and democratic front as a broad platform of struggle against mounting offensives of the capitalist class. By this act of betrayal to the cause

of the working people, these parties are giving helping hand to the authoritarian forces to gain ground although there is no dearth of ritualistic rhetorics against authoritarianism from their leaders. That is why, they turn down again and again our party's earnest call and request for building up a genuine left and democratic front as an instrument of struggle, based on democratic norms and code of conduct. Even in the coming assembly elections in nine states, they are going to align with this or that bourgeois party who are all guilty of committing police savageries on the toiling people or inciting caste or communal frenzies. They did not respond this time also to our call for a left and democratic united front. From all this, we would ask the people to read the danger inherent in the developing situation. The Congress (I), armed with parliamentary power, further strengthened after the coming elections to the assemblies, will surely try to stifle democratic norms to defend the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie. Attacks against the working people and their rights will be more and more sharpened. At this crucial juncture what is essential is a broad democratic front of the oppressed people to fight back the bourgeois class offensives. But instead of preparing the oppressed masses for this resistance through waves of mass movements the social-democratic reformist parties like CPI(M), CPI and others are trying to come to terms with the same very authoritarian forces and are thus helping that very to force gain in strength. In such a complex and very grave situation, it is the duty of the working people to strengthen their own revolutionary party, SUCI, to secure for themselves as speedily as possible, the guarantee of defence to their rights by organising massive mass movements. This is the correct way,

## 24th April

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with honour than yield to the bourgeois design, to the betrayal of the pseudo-lefts. 24th April rings the words of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh: "Remember, you can never achieve revolution through deception, through shouting of slogans, through tricks in the ballot boxes. You can achieve revolution only when you have been able to give birth to people's own political power on the basis of correct base political line and ideology and under the leadership of a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat. The electoral battles you fight, the democratic movements on economic demands you conduct—if you view and conduct all these struggles as conducive to your fundamental revolutionary struggle, then and only then will these be purposive. Else, these are all meaningless".

This is the message of 24th April reaching deeper and wider among the masses, year to year. This is the day marking the hour of birth of the genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat of India, SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA. This is the party reared by the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the party which is the concrete realization of his great revolutionary teachings. 24th April returns every year setting before the people the concrete task in the concrete situation. It marks the great stride toward realizing the task of the Indian revolution.

Responding to the call of 24th April, the masses came from every corner of West Bengal. Representatives came from the neighbouring states of

the way that will lead them to their goal of emancipation.

**Long Live Revolution !  
Long Live SUCI !  
Long Live the  
Revolutionary  
thoughts of Comrade  
Shibdas Ghosh !**

Bihar, Orissa, Assam and many from the distant states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, M.P., U.P., Delhi, Haryana, Punjab, and Rajasthan. They defied odds and obstructions. They defied intimidation of the ruling parties, jotedars, owners and employers. They defied harassment of the police, administration and the vested interest. These people journeyed in inhuman condition. They underwent unsparkable sufferings. Many came from the drought hit districts. Many trekked for days together from inaccessible, distant corners in a gruelling heat wave. Nothing could prevent them. Strangely there was an unusual power failure that day in the Sealdah South Section of the Eastern Railways, disrupting the train services for hours. Thousands of people who were coming to attend the meeting had got stranded. They made for the meeting place on foot—as many as could.

These people came to proclaim their resolve to follow the path shown by the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, peasants had come from the South 24 Parganas where they are waging a fierce class struggle against the jotedars and other reactionary forces combined. Their flags were dipped in the blood of their martyr comrades. Hundreds of comrades have laid down their lives in the struggle. Just a month back Comrade Sujauddin Akhand had laid down his life upholding the banner of his beloved party, the SUCI. He was brutally murdered by Congress (I)-CPI (M) backed jotedars. Only months back Comrades Kajem Ali Laskar and Yakub Mollah died martyr's death at the hands of Congress (I)-CPI (M) backed jotedars. Comrade Anisur Rahman of Murshidabad was murdered by jotedars. Peasants from all the districts, upholding the cause of their martyr comrades, raised their

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voice in slogan: We will not submit, we will fight unto death till emancipation.

Industrial workers had come from Rourkella, Durgapur, Bokaro, Jamshedpur, Asansol, Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly and other areas. They are fighting against the anti-working class policies and measures of the central and state governments. They are fighting against the nakedly pro-capitalist and anti-struggle politics of the 'Left Front' government of West Bengal. Adivasi men and women had come from different belts. They are fighting against exploitation and social injustice. Miners had come from Raniganj, Jharia, Mosaboni, and other areas. Students, youths and all other sections of the toiling masses, who are fighting against the anti-people language policy of the government, the price-rise, the acute power crisis, and on other basic problems in life, who come from all districts of West Bengal and from other states, roared in answer: 'We will take the road to mass struggle. We will not submit, we will fight unto death till emancipation.'

These people, carrying banners and festoons, waving red flags, raising slogans and marching in determination proclaimed their resolve to accomplish the task of the hour. A grave danger now faces the country. An extreme crisis is gripping all spheres of the people's life. The crisis-ridden ruling bourgeoisie has been shifting each and every burden of the capitalist crisis on to people. In its bid to perpetuate its class rule amidst the all out crisis, the ruling class is pushing the country to fascism.

The toiling people want relief from this suffocating atmosphere. At their heart is the yearning for emancipation from exploitation of all sorts. Time and again they have plunged into movements seeking relief from the grinding burden of the capitalist crisis. At the end they have met with only betrayal by the

bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parliamentary parties, who exploit the people's sacrifice to reap parliamentary dividends. This character of the parliamentary parties is getting exposed to the people more and more. Gradually it is coming into their realization that parties like the CPI (M) and CPI, who call themselves Marxist, have appeared in the role of defender of capitalism in its present hour of grave crisis. These parties have thrown away the banner of democratic mass movement in their eagerness to come in the reckoning of the bourgeoisie as an alternative in the bourgeois scheme of two party parliamentary system.

The task now is to build the democratic mass movement in order to foil the bourgeois design, fight the fascist danger, isolate the social democratic forces, arrest the disruptive trends, and lead the mass struggle to its logical culmination—the anti-capitalist socialist revolution. Mass movement is the only course, there is no alternative to it. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught: 'It is never possible for people to win emancipation from capitalist exploitation and the capitalist state through change of government by ballot, even thousand times, or by amending the letters of the law. The only way to win emancipation is to conduct the democratic mass movement on the correct revolutionary line and thereby build up the invincible revolutionary organization of the masses and accomplish the task of socialist revolution under the banner of the revolutionary party of the proletariat. For the emancipation of people, there is no alternative to this course. Every other ends in sheer waste of time and amounts to self deception.'

Against the prevailing capitalist rule, against oppression and exploitation, mass struggle is the only answer. The political power of the people is the arm in their hand to

## 24th April

raid the bastion of the moribund, reactionary capitalism.

The marchers, many of whom had arrived in the city on the previous morning, paraded through the streets in procession after procession. 24th April is familiar to the citizens of Calcutta. They do not have to read the banner to know who go marching on the streets this day. Yet there was wonder among them. The filthy politics of the parliamentary parties, particularly the naked opportunism of the pseudo-lefts, has cast dejection among the people. They are disgusted with it. The march of the SUCI set them to thinking: How could SUCI grow bigger every year? They have no MPs, no ministers. They do not have the backing of the police and administration. How could this party imbibe the masses with radiant hope, determination and dedication? Where is the key to it?

The key is in what the marchers uphold—this is their growing realization. It is the great revolutionary thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, which are rousing the masses. It is the truth his thoughts embody. History testifies that nothing can daunt him who is on the correct line. The ruling bourgeoisie, the arms of the capitalist state, the military, may kill the masses, who follow the correct base political line, in thousands and lakhs, but cannot suppress them. When one dies, many others take his place. Arms cannot suppress the thought that reflects truth. In the sea of darkness around, the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh is the light, the torch guiding the way. The people will have to follow it.

The people have begun to follow it in ever increasing number. That is why in ever increasing number the masses come to Calcutta on the occasion of 24th April every year. That is why they donate to the last farthing to the

party's funds. Only the SUCI workers approach them on every occasion—this is their experience.

The meeting under the auspices of the West Bengal State Committee of the party was a vast congregation of masses. It had spilled over into the surrounding places. There was a large number of youths in the audience. There were workers of other political parties, office employees, teachers, students, and other sections of people from the city and its suburbs. They had come to listen to the party's analysis of the present political situation and the task facing them.

On the previous evening, a quotation exhibition embodying the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had been inaugurated at one side of the maidan by Comrade Shankar Singh, member of the Central Committee of the party. Comrade Singh, in his inauguration speech, urged the people to acquaint themselves with the thoughts of Comrade Ghosh and follow the path shown by him. Streams of visitors saw the exhibition throughout the day. In deep respect they read the quotations, moving slowly from one exhibit to another. There was a party book stall by the exhibition pandal. Visitors had been thronging it all through the day.

Facing the audience from the west, there was a big rostrum draped in red. At its back a red pillar projected a big portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, adorned with flowers. On the dais were seated members of the Central Committee: Comrade Nihar Mukherjee General Secretary of our party, Comrade Sachin Banerjee, Comrade Hiren Sarkar, Comrade Pritish Chanda and Comrade Shankar Singh, president at the meeting. Beside them were seated leaders from the states. Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee, extended his revolutionary greetings to all people who

## COMRADE SATYAWAN ARRESTED

Comrade Satyawan, a leading organiser of the Haryana Kisan Khet Mazdoor Federation as also a Sarpanch of a village Panchayat, was arrested on 9th of April last. The reason behind taking Comrade Satyawan into custody is that he was engaged in leading a movement developed on the demands of the peasants of Mohindargarh District for uninterrupted supply of power to the tubewells for tilling the land and the like and he had led a big demonstration to the concerned authority to press the demand. Lest the movement gained momentum and cast an abiding influence of the fighting leadership in the neighbouring areas, the authority

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had come to the meeting braving all odds and adversaries and who had given all their help. Songs on 24th April and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh were sung by the DYU music squad. The Komsomol, dressed in uniform, presented a guard of honour to their beloved departed leader. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee then gave his illuminating address analysing the country's political situation and explaining the task of the people. In his presidential address, Comrade Shankar Singh appealed to the masses to come forward to accomplish their task. With the Internationale the meeting came to close.

The message of 24th April rings every moment in every part of the land. 24th April is not an anniversary ritual. It is a movement spreading like a giant wave from distance to distance. It is a torch leading the way, a guide to action, a day of pledge. From movement to movement, through the blood of martyrs, 24th April is advancing the people toward the cherished goal of emancipation from all sorts of exploitation.

## MESSAGE OF 24th APRIL RECALLED IN DIFFERENT STATES

On the occasion of the 32nd anniversary, our party, the SUCI, took up an extensive programme lasting a fortnight to carry to the masses the clarion call of 24th April, its revolutionary message, the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, and the movement for emancipation of the masses. Sitzings, group discussions and literary campaigns were conducted on a wide scale in the different states. Spontaneous popular enthusiasm and participation everywhere bore testimony to the deep seated and growing attraction and affection of the people for the party which, guided by the revolutionary teachings and thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, is today engaged single handed in providing a higher cultural-ethical base to politics amidst the general picture of degradation, in upholding the nobility of Communism. The principled, selfless and dedicated conduct of the SUCI cadres evoked unstinted admiration of the people who are more and more coming to look upon the SUCI as the only golden ray of hope in the surrounding gloom, the people's own alternative. Everywhere, there have been unmistakable signs of people in unprecedented number from all walks of life being drawn towards SUCI, the revolutionary party of the Indian proletariat. All over the country, more and more people want to know about our party line and to come closer to it.

The revolutionary grit, determination and enthusiasm which, against heavy odds, burst forth in all splendour at the massive central rally at the Saheed Minar Maidan in Calcutta on the 24th April, had earlier been revealed in a series of meetings held in the different states of the country to observe the

32nd anniversary. In these meetings, the speakers highlighted the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to the masses which serve as a beacon in their revolutionary struggles. The speakers urged the people to rally round the SUCI, the only party that stands today for leftism and is defending the noble ideology of communism, in order to build up massive movements on a higher moral cultural edifice as a bulwark against the evil designs of the ruling class, a precursor to the people's struggle emancipation.

Some of the large number of meetings held in the different states, about which reports have come in are mentioned below.

### BIHAR

In Patna, a mass rally was held on the 18th April at Gandhi Maidan. Comrade Shankar Singh, member of the Central Committee and the secretary, Bihar State Committee, presided. Comrade Pritish Chanda, member, Central Committee, was the main speaker. Other speakers were



A Portion of the gathering attending the meeting held at Patna on the occasion of 32nd Anniversary of our Party

Comrades N. R. Singh and A. K. Pandey, members of the Bihar State Committee. A big, colourful procession paraded the main thoroughfare of the city.

### HARYANA

There was a large procession and rally, followed by a big meeting at Bhagat Singh Park, Rohtak on the 21st April. Comrade Gyan Singh Chowdhury, Secretary, Haryana State Committee, was in the chair. Comrade Pritish Chanda was the main speaker. Other speakers were Comrade Balwant Singh, Comrade Satyawar and Comrade Alamat, State DSO Secretary.

### ORISSA

On 22nd April, a very large meeting was held at the Telephone Bhawan Maidan, Rourkela. Comrade Sk. Kasem presided over the meeting, while Comrade Tapas Dutta, Orissa State Secretary of the SUCI, was the main speaker. Comrade Bishnupada Das and Sunil Kabi were the other speakers.

A large meeting was held on 20th April at Duburichawk, Sukinda. Comrade Mayadhar Nayak was in the chair and Comrade Tapas Dutta was the main speaker.

### ANDHRA

A large meeting to mark the 32nd anniversary was organised on the 20th April at the open Air Theatre, Kurnool. Comrade

Recently, several thousand drought-stricken people, led by the local committee of the SUCI, staged a big demonstration in front of the Tahasildar's office at Bir Maharajpur, Orissa, demanding immediate and adequate relief and anti-drought measures. After the rally, a meeting was held. Comrade Bishnupada Das was the main speaker.

## Comrade Satyawar Arrested

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in collusion with the local police administration cracked down on the struggling peasantry in order to smash this growing movement and took Comrade Satyawar into custody in no time.

Mahindargarh District

B. Srinivasa Rao, Kurnool District Organising Committee, SUCI, presided, Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, a leading organiser, of the party was the main speaker.

### KARNATAKA

Comrade K. Surendra

### TAMILNADU

There was a large meeting at Radhakrishna Lodge Maidan, Madurai, on the 16th April. Comrade Suriyanarayanan presided. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty was the main speaker. Others who addressed the gathering were Comrades Narayanaswami, Rangaramanujam and G. Gopalakrishnan of the DSO.

### KERALA

Comrade Jalaluddin presided over a large meeting at Chinakada, Quilon, on 15th April. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty was the main speaker. The other speaker was Comrade James Joseph, Secretary, Kerala State Organising Committee of the SUCI.

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